1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Bows, Arrows, and Quivers

Both the self and the sinew-backed bow are used, although the former is more common. Arrows are either arrow reeds with willow foreshafts, or entirely of wood. The position of the bowman is three-quarters face toward his quarry with the bow held vertically. It is gripped slightly below the center. The arrow is held in position with the left forefinger until ready to shoot; then it rests on that hand to the left of the bow. It is pulled back at shoulder level and the bow held rigid while it is let fly. A variety of the secondary release[1] is used, in which the arrow is grasped well forward in the feathering while the first and second finger tips bear on the string (Fig. 21). Either reed or wooden arrows are used with self or sinew-backed bows. Either bow will carry about 175

Fig. 21

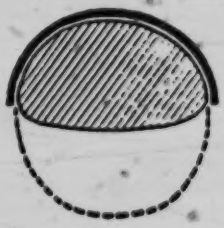

Fig. 22

Fig. 21. The Variant of the Secondary Form of Arrow Release used by the Havasupai.
Fig. 22. Section of a Sinew-Backed Bow.

m., but the effective range is 30 to 45 m. At this range the arrow would penetrate a deer from 15 to 25 cm. At a shorter distance an arrow could be driven completely through a horse. Mountain sheep have been killed when shooting down from a hundred meter cliff. Allowance is made for windage; but rain and snow are said to have no effect on the flight. No prayer is said when shooting, nor will sickness or menstruating women in the house where it is kept affect the power of a bow. The arrow was carefully withdrawn after the kill; heads and feathers of broken arrows were saved.

The best wood for bows (*hápú'"*) is called *kap'áylma' a*, or *kap'á*, or *puima'd*, which is probably the ash (*Fraxinus anomala* Torr.). A young tree, about 1.25 m. tall, is selected, and its branches trimmed close so that it will grow straight. In two years this is ready to cut, for the trunk

[1] Morse, 145–198.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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covered girl lies on this (*opdgd*), protected by a temporary shade, for four days and nights.[1] Before this, however, her body is washed with yucca root suds, and painted red, save for her face which is decorated with the brown juice of the opuntia. During this period, she must eat and drink sparingly, meat is tabooed (but not salt), and she must use a stick or a smooth deer tibia to scratch herself.[2] She is not permitted to sleep by an old woman, who sits beside her, singing, "Do not be lazy; do not be troublesome. When you are married, cook and fetch water and wood."

Further details are given in a myth. The girl should run to the east at dawn each of the four days.[3] Then she may wash her hair and body. She will be barren should she taste meat before the menses (*dhud'flgd*, lit., red) end.

A woman lives at home during her periodical illnesses, the only interruption in her life being the taboos against meat for fear of barrenness, scratching with her fingers, and sexual intercourse. At the first menstruation following marriage, the mothers of a couple wash the entire body of their respective children and paint them red from head to foot. The husband's hair is roughly bound with a cord into a single queue by his mother. The hair at the wife's temples is tied at the occiput, enclosing the back hair which hangs loose. All this takes place at the camp of the wife's parent, with whom the couple are living. Their parents instruct them, adding to the wife, "Run toward the setting sun[4] as far as you can and return. Some unmarried girls will run with you: try to beat them." This is for the purpose of enabling her to run fast and move about briskly. This running is performed on each of four days succeeding the end of the first flow and on one day following each subsequent menstruation throughout her lifetime. The husband, after being washed by his mother, runs at dawn on each of these days, carrying a slow-match (p. 323).

Mannerisms and Customary Behavior

Women do not fear the mice that live in the thatch, as white women do, though they drive them away. Yet they react in the same way to lizards; scream for fear they will run under their skirts.

Care of the sick and helpless is rather cursory. The invalid must share the discomforts of sleeping with the rest of the family and the coarse

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[1] Compare the roasting pit of the girls in Southern California.
[2] For comparative notes see Lowie, (j), 145–147, (j), 282, and Benedict, 79.
[3] The Navaho girl runs to the east and back, and a similar custom marks the adolescence ceremony among the White Mountain Apache. The Southern Ute girl at least runs to and fro. [Franciscan Fathers, 446; Curtis, I, 46; Lowie, (i), 272].
[4] There is some confusion about the time; compare above.

881. 841 A girl's careless attitude toward subsequent observance of menstrual taboos does not necessarily suggest that the same girl would have felt unconcern for tradition during her intial menses. On the contrary, flaunting of taboos more likely results from: (1) accidental infractions not followed [177] by dire consequences; (2) association with girls of other tribes who, although not observant of Havasupai taboos, suffer none of the predicted penalties; and (3) white education and influences.

881 183 In addition to the possible factors outlined above, Havasupai cultural patterns are defined somewhat loosely, individual and group behavior approximating, rather than following, that set forth in the prescribed patterns. Thus, a casual attitude toward undeviating observance of menstrual and other taboos, and toward performance or omission of behavior seemingly dictated by tribal mores, in itself, appears to be characteristic of Hava- [114] supai culture. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes, "Your remarks on casualness as characteristic of Havasupai behavior are very just in my opinion. It does correlate, as you say, with their individualism and the variations in activities they choose to follow."

Although this casual attitude is evident in behavior, it is only indirectly verbalized. While a child becomes the creature of his culture, it would be premature on present evidence to conclude that either the implicit casualness or the verbalized imperatives concerning the puberty ceremony might predominate in determining a pubescent girl's attitude toward omission of her puberty ceremony and her emotional reaction to the situation.

Physiological phenomena incident to menstruation, such as pain, nervous tension, dizziness, or weakness, must be discounted as factors conducive to greater emotional stress among pubescent girls absent from home, because the same symptoms doubtless occur also among girls at home.

In the absence of a conclusive explanation of the different responses reported for the two groups of pubescent girls, it is suggested that the puberty ceremony itself minimizes any emotional or physiological distress a girl may feel.

Functions of the Puberty Ceremony

881 182 The puberty ceremony functions to obtain public recognition of a girl's impending change in status from childhood to womanhood. The ceremony is held in private and is followed by no formal public announcement. Perhaps this correlates with statements that the puberty ceremony does not mark the beginning of adult status and eligibility for marriage. News of a girl's attainment of puberty is passed from person to person with about the same interest evoked by other tribal gossip. The private nature of the Havasupai puberty ceremony and the lack of emphasis upon its association with subsequent eligibility for marriage are in contrast with the public character of the Apache rite, and the accompanying change from prior

ineligibility to subsequent eligibility for marriage, as reported by Opler (1941, 82). 881 182

Among the Havasupai, the puberty ceremony's most important function may be for the girl herself. Attentions given her during the ritual puberty observance tend to: (1) dramatize a difficult experience for her by treating it as one of relative importance; (2) sustain and reinforce her ego by verbal delineation of her prospective roles, and by indirect acknowledgment of her newly acquired status; and (3) minimize possible unpleasantness of the physiological change involved by directing a girl's attention toward the ritual and its symbolism, and by emphasizing importance of her future womanly duties toward her family.

Initial fright felt by a pubescent girl living at home might easily be forgotten in the reassurance offered by the puberty ceremony and its accompanying attentiveness to the girl by her mother or another close relative.

Puberty for boys is not marked by ceremony. Perhaps the closest thing corresponding to puberty ritual was the recognition which formerly accompanied a boy's first successful deer hunt. A youth was not permitted to eat any of his first kill. He divided it instead among relatives and friends or among other hunters.

While some form of the puberty ceremony usually is performed for a girl of today, a boy no longer has the opportunity of achieving recognition through his mastery of hunting techniques. The Havasupai, of course, are restricted to hunting during annual game seasons. Wild animals no longer play an important part in their economy. [224]

Mythical Origin of Menstruation

A folktale describing the manner in which menstruation came about is incorporated in a longer story. Only the part concerning menstruation is narrated here. 841 539 773

"Long ago when the world was still wet, before the human race was here, and when the animals were like human beings, Squirrel lived in the San Francisco Mountains. One day he took the tibia of a deer and painted on it a design. After sundown, he threw the bone to the east with a prayer that a young girl would come to him with the next rising sun. The girl came just as Squirrel had prayed she would. She lived happily for a time there at the camp with her guardian, Squirrel, and her brothers, Coyote and White Dog.

"One day Coyote called to his sister saying, 'Sister, you must stay here while I go out to hunt.' After the girl had waited awhile, Coyote returned carrying a fawn he had killed. The girl was glad to see the fawn and sat

841 773 539 nearby thinking how good the meat would taste. While Coyote was butchering, she felt of the fawn's smooth hair and touched his ears and face. Presently, Coyote asked the girl to hand something to him, and when she turned away to reach it, Coyote put his hand in the fawn's fresh blood and flipped it upon the girl's thighs close to her vagina. The Coyote cried out, 'Oh, Sister, you are menstruating. Now you cannot eat meat until you are clean after four days have passed.' The girl was angry because she couldn't eat the meat. Coyote said to her, 'From now on it will happen like this to you once every month. After four days you must bathe.' Thus it was Coyote who caused the girl to have the monthly illness, and all girls have had it since that time.

"The girl went to bed unhappy and next morning when she awoke she was still angry with her brother, Coyote, so she left the camp early, saying nothing to her relatives. She ran away to a land in the west where she lived from that time on."

The Puberty Ceremony and Folklore

145 Havasupai girls are expected to reach puberty at 12 or 13 years but young women reported initial menses occurring from ages 11 through 17.

881 864 841 In childhood, a girl is shielded from knowledge of menstruation, although it seems likely that some girls learn the physiological facts early from contacts with older sisters or girl friends. Also, women informants speak frankly and without embarrassment both of menstruation and childbirth in the presence of children of both sexes. Although, in several cases, little girls listened with interest to interviews on these subjects, it is possible that they did not fully comprehend the discussion, especially since English terms were [192] used. In Havasupai, the term for menstruation ahu ǯ tiga literally means the quality of being red, that is reddish (Spier, 1928, 326). Blood was recorded as ahuǎ't' and red as ahuǎ'ta by this investigator.

841 864 362 Living arrangements afford little privacy. Old style hogans and other house types consist of one room, and the newer houses have only one or two rooms. A menstruating woman usually goes to the toilet area to care for herself, first to find privacy, and second, to bury her soiled menstrual pad. Since the toilet area almost always is located in some brush near camp, a little girl may chance to observe her mother or an older sister there. In 1952, a nine-year-old girl, who persistently questioned her older sister about the purpose of packaged sanitary napkins, was repeatedly offered the explanation that they were used to bandage injured arms or legs. When an uninformed little girl observes the initial puberty ceremony, she may be told that this is a treatment "for aching all over." This explanation may seem plausible by analogy with the therapeutic function of the sweatbath.

The Puberty Dress

881 292 [622] In former times a buckskin dress cut to the same pattern as that worn for daily attire was made for use during a girl's first menses by one of the men who knew how to do it. Chiefs are said to have fulfilled this function, while medicine men had no such role.

881 515 302 wife and mother, and to follow the proper observances and taboos throughout her life, so that she may remain young, attractive and vigorous.

It is believed that the face of a girl while menstruating or following childbirth must be washed in cold water because hot water causes wrinkles. Premature greyness will result if a girl touches her hair while it is wet, and she is also forbidden to eat before her hair dries. (An informant explained that failure to observe these rules causes white women to turn grey while young. Informants frequently made comments of this kind to explain the premature aging of white women who were thought to fare less favorably than the Havasupai women.) The girl's mother dries her hair by catching strands in her fingers and flipping the ends with a stick.

Spier (1928, 326) describes a bath and shampoo on the first of the four days during which the puberty ritual is observed. He notes that, "A girl should run to the east at dawn each of the four days. Then she may wash her hair and body." Present informants state that a pubescent girl should be bathed on four successive mornings, beginning with the first day of her menses. Subsequently, except following childbirth, a girl should not bathe until four days after commencement of her menses. She arises while it is still dark, bathes herself and shampoos her hair in yucca suds.

[386] Following her bath, a girl's body and face are painted by her mother with powdered red ocher, or with liquid red dye from the fruit of the opuntia cactus.

[841] [177] If powdered ocher is used, no deer fat or other grease is mixed with it, because a girl's face would remain oily like the fat. At present, cosmetic cream, lipstick, and cream rouge are taboo during menstruation for the same reason. However, it is suspected that lipstick, at least, may be used by girls who are being courted, especially at boarding school or at work outside the reservation.

386 415 Before metal strainers were available, liquid dye was obtained from the opuntia by pressing and draining the juice from the pear seeds over a primitive strainer fashioned from Mormon tea plant stems placed across a pottery bowl. If the opuntia fruit were out of season, dye was made by boiling the dried opuntia pears.

881 302 [114] [822] Spier (1928, 326) states that a girl is "painted red, save for her face which is decorated with the brown juice of the opuntia." In a personal communication, Spier added that the red to which he referred for body paint was red ocher. (While ripe opuntia pears are purplish red and the dye obtained from them may be more brown than red, informants referred to it as red dye.) Spier's informants thus described the use of a red paint for a girl's body and dye from the opuntia fruit for designs on her face. Spier (personal communication, 1957) states that all-over body paint was invariably red. Several informants now assert that either powdered red ocher or opuntia dye

may be used, but whichever one is chosen is used both for body paint and for face designs. However, one woman insisted that ocher paint only was used at the menses, and that the red opuntia dye was reserved as a treatment for sunburn and the removal of freckles. In the latter connection it was explained that freckles may be caused by a female fetus during pregnancy and can be remedied by the above treatment. (One informant thought that her fellow tribeswomen were in error in their belief that sex of a child could be foretold by the appearance of such freckles, inasmuch as she herself had seen them appear during a pregnancy which resulted in birth of a boy.) 881 302 [757] [827] [843] [842]

Designs on a girl's face may consist of four vertical lines on each side of her nose, extending from her forehead to her jaw, the innermost lines passing the outer corners of her eyes. Vertical lines may be painted on a girl's cheeks, with a continuous line extending from her hairline down her nose to her chin. One pattern started with a line at the inner corners of the eyes extending outward across the cheeks, the smoothing motion used in executing this supposedly warding off wrinkles. These, or other facial designs used, are said to have no significance other than that customarily associated with the number four which is conspicuous in any grouping of lines or dots used. The body may be painted red completely from neck to foot, or lines may be drawn on arms from shoulder to wrist and on the front of thighs to the knee. 881 302 531 [801]

While it was stated that a menstruating girl should rise before sunup for her ceremonial washing and painting so she will be ready to run at sunrise, a discrepancy appears in that she is said to dry her hair in the sun. This suggests that, in practice, little attention is paid to the time certain actions should be performed, or to their sequence. 881 302 841

Running at Sunset and Sundown

At sunrise, a pubescent girl, already bathed, shampooed, painted, and attired in her puberty dress, runs toward the sunrise, and at sundown she runs toward the west to insure that she will be quick and unfailing in her work. As she runs she carries a slow match of cedar bark with which she touches her knees and elbows to prevent rheumatism in old age. On the three succeeding days, a girl is bathed, her hair is shampooed, and her body paint and face designs are reapplied. As on the first day, she runs to the east at dawn and to the west at sundown. Following this routine she gathers a bundle of wood and carries it to the camp of some woman who is exemplary in working so that she may attain this ideal. 881 [751] [372] [482]

Meanwhile, a girl's father has dug a shallow pit and constructed a temporary brush shade over it a short distance from the home camp. In the pit, which is about 4 ft. long and 1 ft. deep, a layer of rocks is placed with firewood. After being heated about an hour, the rocks are covered with earth and several layers of blankets to make a bed. When the girl has performed 881 343

881 a few tasks for her mother, she retires to this bed, sitting or lying on it
343 most of the time during four days and nights. The rocks stay hot overnight and are reheated each morning. At her mother's bidding, a girl rises frequently during the day to carry wood or water, or to do some other work so that she will not become a lazy wife.

881 In former times, an old woman, often a girl's grandmother, sat beside
887 her throughout the night singing and talking to keep the girl awake. "Don't be
869 lazy," the old woman admonished. "When you marry, work hard and be a good wife and mother." At present, a girl is permitted to sleep part of the night.

Taboos

881 During this and subsequent menstrual periods, a girl refrains from eat-
262 ing meat, which would cause her face to wrinkle and her teeth to wear out
[263] prematurely. Although Spier (1928, 320) states that salt is not taboo, present informants say it must be used very sparingly. Otherwise, a girl while menstruating may eat much the same as usual, except that soft foods and liquids are preferable for her, and she should eat small amounts. Some foods considered appropriate in former times were corn mush, silĕ (unidentified) mush, black sunflower seed paste, opuntia pears, and dried soapweed pears.

881 Scratching with the fingernails would leave raised marks or scars on
[237] the skin, so girls formerly used a deer tibia painted with red, black, and
[531] white designs, said to be without significance. Or she might make use of any stick close at hand. At the present time, sticks appear to be used exclusively. These are undecorated. In 1951, a Havasupai girl, while visiting an abandoned storage cist with this investigator, found a stick tucked into a crack under an overhanging rock. The stick, identified without prompting as a puberty scratching stick, was about 6 in. long, 1/2 in. wide, and 1/4 in. thick. It was undecorated and unsmoothed except for one slightly rounded end which probably had been abraded with a stone. The only stick observed in use, however, was any one which happened to be at hand.

[833] Sexual intercourse is prohibited during menstruation. As one informant phrased it, if this taboo is broken "you will be pregnant right there."
[842] Infraction would result in this penalty for either premarital or postmarital
[841] intercourse during menstruation, and for intercourse during the menstrual flow following childbirth.

[856] If a girl at puberty is thin, a fat woman "stands on the girl's back" so
[526] she too will become attractively plump. In practice, a fat woman places one foot on a girl's back, exerting but little pressure. In one instance a girl's father is known to have performed this role.

Although it was denied by several informants, others insisted that menstrual blood brings bad luck to hunters, and for that reason a menstruating woman formerly stayed alone a short distance from camp where men would not come in contact with her. If an unused house or brush shelter was conveniently located near her camp, a woman might occupy this for a few days, but no menstrual hut was purposefully erected. At present a menstruating woman should not enter a sweatlodge. A woman's pregnancy, but apparently not her menstrual periods, should keep her husband from using the sweatlodge.

Traditionally, a girl's mother or grandmother attends her during her first menses, but in practice, almost anyone related or unrelated, female or male, may take charge of the ceremony.

In one case, a girl's father took complete charge, including the bathing and painting of her body, although her mother was present. The mother in question offered the excuse that she merely felt "too lazy" to do it herself. The mother admitted also that she neglected to perform any of the puberty ritual for a younger daughter whose first menses occurred after the death of the girl's father.

In another case, a girl's paternal grandfather attended her, although her parents and both grandmothers were available. This girl, now an adult, could offer no reason why her grandfather played this role, but in other interviews, she repeatedly indicated that a close bond existed between her and this grandfather, with whom she lived as a child and who "was always telling me stories and teaching me the right things to do."

The puberty ceremony in complete form as described here, is seldom, if at all, performed today. Greatest emphasis is now placed upon the taboos against meat, intercourse, scratching, and use of too much salt, about in that order. The bed of heated rocks is used in most cases, and many girls still have their bodies bathed and their hair shampooed. Body and face painting is somewhat less emphasized, perhaps because with a decrease in gathering of wild plant foods, opuntia pears may not be on hand; and other activities and interests also tend to discourage preparation of a sufficient amount of powdered ocher. In practice, almost any combination of features from the prescribed ritual may be selected. A girl may not be kept awake long, if at all, during the night. Few girls run at sunrise and probably none run at sunset. Less emphasis than formerly is placed upon performance of camp work at this time.

Clothing, Adornment, and Beauty Practices

In former times, style was of little importance either in clothing, ornamentation, or decoration, but both girls and boys commonly gave some attention to enhancing their attractiveness from adolescence through the court-

wrinkel in their twenties. But look at me, I'm 44 and hardly have any wrinkles. Another thing, during the first four days of your monthly, don't smile very much, because it pulls your face in wrinkles and will leave lines there. We already told you not to eat meat or scratch with your nails at that time, and you shouldn't smoke for those four days. The same rules are for your husband and will keep him young too if he does everything right. We never told your people these things, so they just get old real soon. We're telling you because we want you to keep young like us. These things will make you look real young till in your fifties or sixties." 302 856 [841]

The method of washing the face was not checked with older informants but was verified by several of middle age. It is interesting that this informant mentioned refraining from smiling, but neglected any mention of frowning. The Havasupai characteristically are a smiling people. A frown is seldom seen, and the face in repose customarily wears a placid expression. 302 [181] [142]

The Havasupai are relatively fastidious about personal cleanliness of their bodies and clothing from childhood until, perhaps, middle age. Families customarily bathe together daily in the creek during warm weather. Although middle-aged or old persons bathe less frequently, they go to a shallow place in the creek or bathe in a nearby irrigation ditch, modestly remaining partly clothed during the process. Creek bathing is believed to bring a rheumatic attack if the water is too cold. In winter, tub or sponge baths are taken, but less frequently. Personal cleanliness probably was emphasized less during winter plateau residence prior to permanent canyon residence and the ready availability of the water of Havasu Creek, which facilitates bathing. 515

Sexual Attitudes and Premarital Experiences

The assertion that former generations refrained from premarital sexual relations appears to be a statement of the cultural ideal rather than fact. Informants usually prefaced a discussion of the subject with this generalization, but subsequent explanations and case descriptions revealed that, although premarital sexual license may have been more restricted than at present, it was nevertheless quite general. 836

Teaching Modesty and Reticence

Although children of both sexes played together in early childhood, small girls were warned to seek privacy for excretory purposes and to avoid exposing their genitals in the presence of boys. Very young siblings of opposite sex now visit the toilet area together, and an older sister frequently has the obligation of attending a brother too young to take care of himself. 864 834

Small girls traditionally were cautioned to beware of sexual advances by older boys. In 1952, the mother of a four-year-old girl remarked that

boys and young men, or in a group of adults. Occasionally a boy may halt his horse on a trail to talk with two or three girls. Reportedly, it is assumed by any observer that the boy is carrying on an affair with one of them. 571 834

One informant stated that those girls who reach puberty before they are 12 years old, start menstruating as a result of having had intercourse with a boy. If this occurs, either or both of the girl's parents may beat her, but it is said that "today they don't beat her as hard as they used to." On the other hand, a boy is not beaten, but parents reprimand him for his part in the affair. Another informant denied that menstruation results from intercourse but verified that a girl's parents may beat her if they hear of her behavior. 841 834 684 827

Incidents of so-called rape involving teenage boys and girls occur occasionally, the participants often being a pair of boys and a pair of girls. Girls may loiter in appropriate places when returning home from a public activity after dark, and their protests are considered feigned when they are overpowered by the young men. Some parents make an effort to prevent their daughters from sexual involvement by escorting them home whenever possible. 684 834

One girl of 17 confided to me that she had been "out" with a particular boy on a certain night. "All girls have boy friends," she said. "A boy visits a girl's camp during the day pretending not to notice her, but they meet somewhere else at night. Each girl goes with a particular boy instead of changing around very often." A couple publicly known to have participated in an occurrence of "rape" four years ago, when the girl was 14 and the boy 16, later married.

Evidence indicates that virtually the entire male population keeps an eye on the young girls as they mature. Each year, one or two girls are considered the most pleasing in face and form. There is little doubt that the unofficial "Miss Havasupai" is under more than usual pressure from the male population. One such girl, following her initial popularity, is now labeled by at least part of her fellow tribesmen as a prostitute. It was reported that she caters to Indians and others in a nearby white community where she lives alone. 832 [548]

Behavior during Courting

At the present time, teenage individuals and young adults of both sexes flock to favorite swimming holes in the creek each afternoon. There, young couples may be seen privately conversing or enjoying water games together. Opportunity thus exists for them to arrange a rendezvous and to slip away separately during the afternoon, or to meet at another time. 584 834

It was noted that certain couples who engaged in conversation at the swimming hole in the absence of their elders, were ones reportedly carry-

832 581 183 762 208 However, the case warrants closer investigation before conclusions can be drawn. Pertinent factors appearing at the present time include the position of the youth's and his sweetheart's respective parents in the community, an unusual family situation for the boy, public sentiment heightened by the shocking extremity of the manner in which the youth reacted to parental opposition, and the cultural abhorrence of death. Nor is the influence of the [177] Anglo-American romantic tradition of choosing one's own mate to be disregarded in so recent an example.)

584 Courtship as defined here probably was relatively unimportant in selection of marriage partners during early days, but at the present time it has gained significance. Perhaps it serves physiologically and psychologically to dissipate tensions arising from the sex drive before marriage, and further, to minimize marital adjustment by placing initiation and orientation outside and prior to the marriage relationship.

585 Although marriage formerly was unmarked by ceremony at its inception, it was generally recognizable by the roles of the bride's and groom's parents, the marriage gift, and the bride's open acceptance of the groom at her home. [302] Further, it was publicly marked at the bride's first menses following mar- [841] riage when the mothers (or other close female relatives) of the bride and groom attended their respective children, washing them and painting their bodies red. Upon termination of the menses, the groom ran at dawn toward the rising sun and the bride at sunset toward the setting sun on four successive days. Young, unmarried girls raced with the bride. Irregularity in [554] observance of these customs now lends uncertainty to the status of a newly married couple.

Growth of Trial Marriage

582 The Havasupai at present practice virtual trial marriage. While this pattern is not explicitly defined in the culture, it occurs regularly and in recognizable form. Although adults generally profess disapproval of its practice, they give it implicit recognition by their uncertainty concerning the status of young couples known to be living together or meeting regularly and frequently.

Public and private speculation concerning the status of a couple while in the transitory stage from courtship to marriage is precisely the clue to recognition of inceptive trial marriage. At that time an affair ceases to be surreptitious and begins to assume the external aspects of marriage. Trial marriage lasts only so long as a couple's marital status remains uncertain or until their association is discontinued. The feature which distinguishes trial marriage from courtship is its open rather than secret aspect.

Thus, trial marriage is characterized by regularity in form and occurrence, by its public nature, and by both private and public uncertainty re-

mother died in labor, an attempt would be made to push or pull the baby out to save it. 845

Rites after Birth

Spier (1928, 300) reports,"A hole has been dug in front of the woman to receive the child, in which a blanket is folded in nest-like form." A hole is not dug at present. The baby is received on an old blanket or something that can be discarded. The placenta is buried, but blankets and clothing soiled with blood may be burned, buried, or placed in a tree. If the placenta were eaten by an animal, barrenness would result. Also, if these things were not properly disposed of, the child would not be healthy or well behaved. 844 [825 842]

Shortly after delivery or just before the next sunrise, the mother and father are bathed and their hair is washed in yucca suds by the woman's mother or a close female relative of either one of them. The father wears a breechcloth. One informant said that the father's hair is washed for him, but he bathes himself. The mother's cheeks are colored red with some of the paint prepared for the baby. The father is not painted. The shampoo and bath for both parents are repeated on the following three mornings before sunrise. 846 [515] [302]

The father sleeps with his head on a rounded rock pillow for four nights following a birth, so that he will awaken early to work in his fields or hunt for game. He also sleeps on such a pillow for four nights during the first menstrual period of his wife following marriage. (The use of a similar rock pillow occurs in several Havasupai myths in which men flee or are pursued by enemies or are so otherwise engaged that they wish to sleep lightly or awaken early.) [352 513] [841]

The mother's abdomen is bound tightly with a buckskin band, a Hopi belt, or a cloth. This is said to lessen the afterpains, but primarily it is intended to insure the return of the abdomen to normal size.

After delivery the mother wears an old dress which can be discarded if it becomes bloodstained. She retires to rest on her bed over the heated rocks and sand. The heat is thought to insure the flow of blood which, if it remains inside, will cause illness or death. There she spends most of her time for four days or longer if delivery has been difficult. To bring the milk quickly or to increase its quantity, she should lie prone so that the warmth will reach her breasts. [847]

The mother was given corn soup in former days, but now drinks tea or coffee first and a little later drinks the corn soup which is believed to make milk flow freely. After four days the mother eats solid foods and assumes normal eating when she feels so inclined.

799 Southern Paiutes formerly visited and camped in Pai territory (Spier, 1928, 360-2). Our informants reported that some would swim across the Colorado River near Prospect Valley[access to the river may be gained from either side in this portion of Grand Canyon]. Paiutes also crossed in the vicinity of Diamond Creek[a southern Paiute campsite, Ariz. G:3:1 in the Arizona State College Archaeological Survey files, has been recorded at the junction of that stream with the Colorado River] and below there in the vicinity of Granite Park[where Walapai campsites and mescal pits, Ariz. G:3:2 (ASC), have been recorded]. These visits included those during which the Pai were introduced to the 1890 Ghost Dance.

[787] Hopis also frequented Havasupai villages and there was considerable movement of both peoples on the trading route extending along the south rim of Grand Canyon.

Sacred Places and Spirits

776 778 823 Shrines and sacred places were few, especially outside Cataract Canyon. Spirits were thought to inhabit Gray Mountain on the eastern boundary of their historic range, and a certain rock formation underlying the Coconino sandstone (at the end of the Great Thumb peninsula in Grand Canyon) [317] was visited to make rain. The salt deposits on the Colorado River below the mouth of the Little Colorado were used by the Havasupai but were not considered sacred. The San Francisco Peaks and Mount Sinyella [an isolated sandstone remnant on the esplanade northeast of Supai village], were thought to contain spirits which, if appealed to, could produce rain. People felt afraid to go too close to them. These landmarks were considered dangerous since visitors to them might cause too much rain or strong winds that could blow people off the canyon walls.

823 776 [782] [841] Virtually every spring known to the Havasupai contained spirits. Offerings of tobacco, peaches, or dried corn were made to these water sources, and menstruating women were cautioned against visiting them since the water might disappear. Prayer sticks, however, were not used at springs as was the Hopi custom.

Conception of the Soul

774 Spier (1928, 275) indicated that the Havasupai believed that "Each human has a soul in his heart;..." Our informants confirmed this, virtually denying a separate term for the soul. It was called "the heart" and "works inside with the blood." A person had only one soul. Beyond this, however,

If one violated this prescription 343
it was thought blindness and excessive facial wrinkles would occur in middle 515
age. Both sexes may avail themselves of the sweatlodge simultaneously, 834
although it is customary for a woman to enter with her husband. Both sexes [826]
avoid exposing themselves unduly. Men wear loincloths, today fashioned [291]
from burlap; women wear slips, which they lower to the waist when inside. [178]
Children also are permitted to use the sweatlodge with adults, but not frequently. Smaller children usually are permitted its use only when ill, and 343
a sick baby would be placed outside near the entry while someone inside 515
sang for its recovery. Some of our informants believed, however, that in [757]
former times the sweatlodge was restricted to adults, especially those suffering from pain and soreness occasioned by hard work and long horseback or foot trips.

Pregnant women and their husbands were forbidden the use of the lodge [843]
because of the belief that the fetus would sweat and "become ill," or that
the infant would be born blind. Menstruating women and their husbands 343
also were advised against taking sweatbaths although this taboo could be lifted 515
if a woman suffered severe menstrual pain. On these occasions the woman 841
would hold a small twig of "squaw-bush" [Rhus trilobata] in her mouth to
prevent her from becoming wrinkled or blind in later years. Care was
taken to keep the menstrual discharge from contaminating the structure. [834]
Should a man and woman using the lodge together be discovered in sex play, the structure would be abandoned.

That participation in Havasupai sweatbaths is refreshing and relaxing 515
has been noted by all ethnologists who have experienced them (see for ex- 123
ample Spier, 1928, 337, fn. 2). Smithson and I, independently, noted the same reactions. Unaccustomed to the intense heat, which Smithson recorded as ranging between 118° and 157° F., we felt weakness and sensations of searing of the skin, lungs and nostrils. But once we were outside, and even while subsequently bathing in the river (water temperature 65° F.) a refreshing feeling ensued. [My own sweatbaths usually were taken following long, tiring horseback trips.]

Death and Funeral Customs 763

When an individual was suspected of being near death, relatives tried
to stay nearby. Sometimes a song, mätabílyih, was sung, either by the [533]
ill person or by a close relative who had requested permission from the
patient. This was a preparatory act and insured that the individual would
"keep the song" after he had died. [This is no longer done and no one now [178]
remembers any of the songs.] Wailing also began before death.